

JUNE 2003

PeaceWatch

Vol. IX, No. 4



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UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, DC

Fifty Years of Partnership: The U.S.–ROK Alliance

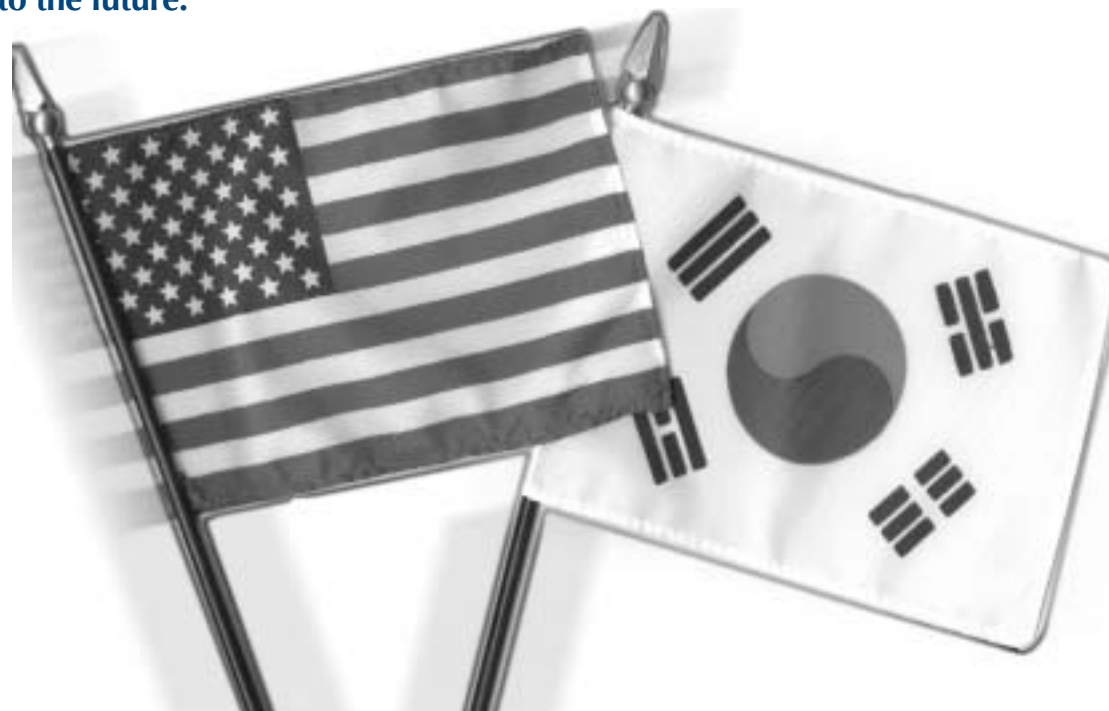
As the United States and South Korea celebrate the 50th anniversary of their historically successful alliance, experts assess its accomplishments and look to the future.

How can the United States and the Republic of Korea (ROK) successfully maintain their 50-year-old alliance under the strain of rapidly evolving South Korean domestic politics and in the face of North Korea's nuclear weapons challenge?

On May 16 the Institute co-hosted, with the National Defense University, a public conference, "The U.S.–ROK Alliance at Fifty: Continuity, Change, and Implications for the Future."

The conference met two days after a summit meeting between Presidents George Bush and Roh Moo-hyun. At the summit, the leaders called for just such meetings on the future of the alliance "to generate fresh ideas for both governments."

Opening the conference, Vice Admiral **Paul G. Gaffney**, presi-



dent of the National Defense University, agreed, noting that it is important for both countries to "look ahead critically to the evolution of the alliance." Institute president **Richard Solomon** added some questions for conference par-

ticipants, "Has the alliance run its course? Is it no longer relevant to the security concerns and interests of both sides? Can it be sustained? If so, on what basis?"

See *Korea*, page 2



Korea

Continued from page 1



Top right, left to right: Kim Changsu, Marcus Noland, Chung Min Lee, Richard Allen, Frederick Smith.

Center left: Paul Gaffney.

Center right: David Steinberg, William Watts, Victor Cha, Katharine Moon.

Bottom left: Kongdan Oh, Yoshihisa Komori, Alexandre Mansourov, Ming Zhang, Paul Stares.

Bottom right: Richard Solomon.

Gaps in Perceptions

Public support has eroded for the alliance in both the United States and South Korea, noted Solomon. The younger generations of South Koreans now assuming power have no memory of the Korean War, resent the American military presence on the peninsula, and highly value reunification with North Korea. “Some in South Korea see the enemy as their friend. And their only reliable friend and ally as an adversary,” he added.

Observers disagree on the level of anti-Americanism in South Korea. However, it is clear that there are misperceptions about the U.S. role there, argued panelists **Richard Allen**, senior fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, and **Kim Changsu**, director of U.S. Studies at the Korean Institute for Defense Analysis in Seoul. An effort by the South Korean government is needed to educate the young, emerging generations of South Koreans about the importance of the alliance and the nature of American presence and intentions on the peninsula.



Old and New Threats

North Korea is quite possibly facing an “implosion scenario,” according to conference speakers **Marcus Noland** of the Institute for International Economics and **Kongdan Oh** of the Institute for Defense Analysis. North Korea’s economy has bottomed out and social unrest in the tightly controlled country cannot be ruled out.

In their summit communiqué, Presidents Roh and Bush reaffirmed a shared commitment to the elimination of North Korea’s nuclear program. A common approach is exactly what is necessary, panelists agreed, but so far it has not been achieved, partly because there are differences in how the North Korean threat is perceived. Also, South Korea must balance its desire for reunification with the reality of North Korea’s

quest for nuclear weapons.

There are a range of possible actions and steps to take toward a more stable peninsula. Solomon brought attention to a recent Institute Special Report written by **Bill Drennan**, deputy director of the Research and Studies Program and the conference organizer, which calls for a political settlement to finally close the Korean War—the last Cold War conflict.

The Future of the Alliance

An alliance reaching its 50th anniversary—much as a person reaching the age of 50—is a reason for both celebration and sober reflection.

Katharine Moon of Wellesley College and **Ralph Cossa** of the Pacific Forum at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, both presented reasons for optimism. The alliance is richer than simply the security relationship, they noted. It is based on certain common, democratic values. The two countries also have shared religious beliefs, family ties, and the history of over a half-century of continuous American military presence in South Korea. Cossa added that a particularly strong tie is annual foreign direct investment in South Korea of \$70 billion.

Major Initiative in South Asia

The Institute launched a major initiative in South Asia last month with a workshop on the role of media and education in ethnic and religious conflicts in southern Asia. The “Workshop on the Role of Education and the Media in Managing Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Southern Asia” took place in Ahungala, Sri Lanka, on May 9–11. It was organized by the Institute’s Education Program, led by director **Pamela Aall**, in conjunction with **Deepa Ollapally** of the Special Initiative on the Muslim World, and the Center for Policy Alternatives, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

For the past 50 years, the countries of southern Asia have developed ways to manage ethnic and religious diversity, some of which have been successful, and some not. Today, it is apparent that the region is in the midst of re-negotiating some of the existing state-society compacts on ethnic and religious relations, participants noted. In India, the former consensus about secularism is under strain. In Bangladesh, there is tension between the interpretation of Islam and the rights of various groups, including women. In Pakistan, the state’s search for national security confronts both religious and democratic forces. In Sri Lanka, the ethnic conflict has brought issues of federalism and autonomy to the forefront. Afghanistan is faced with finding a common principle of governance that would be acceptable to its diverse populations.

In all these countries, education and media are powerful institutions that can play important roles in promoting ethnic and religious tolerance. But they can also fan the flames of ethnic distrust and hostility.

Executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** opened the workshop, which brought together scholar-practitioners, senior media personnel, leaders of the non-profit sector, and conflict resolution experts from all over the region. Senior fellow **Dipankar Banerjee** also participated in the workshop. Over the next days, participants examined the experiences of education and the media in the conflicts in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The participants identified some of the common challenges and lessons of responding to ethnic and religious tensions and discussed ways of enhancing the positive roles that education and the media can play in this response.

Several themes emerged from the workshop.

- More collaboration across the region is needed.
- Media is undergoing a period of transition.

There is growth, as well as liberalization and privati-

zation of media, throughout much of the region.

- How to shape curriculum in the context of conflict is an area requiring further attention.

- Adding to the complexity is the issue of the use of English versus the use of the vernacular, or local, languages in media and education.

The highlight of the workshop was a proposal to set up a regional initiative (with Institute collaboration) for developing cross-border research projects, student exchange, and regionally focused curriculum.

Before the conference, Institute staff, including fellows program officer **John Crist**, met in Colombo with Bradman Weerakoon, the principal secretary to the prime minister of Sri Lanka to discuss ways to reduce conflict in the region. They also met with Neela Marikkar, founder of Sri Lanka First, an influential group of business leaders advocating peace and regional stability through a negotiated settlement to the civil war.

Below: Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf engaged the audience and Institute president Richard Solomon.

Pakistani President Musharraf Speaks at Institute Event

“The prime minister of Pakistan and I are committed to ensuring a future free of terror that in turn will require progress towards a world free of repression, dispossession, and hopelessness,” said Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf at an Institute meeting on June 25 in Washington, D.C.

An audience of 700 heard Musharraf’s remarks and then engaged in a lengthy question and answer session. The Institute organized the event to follow upon Musharraf’s meeting with President Bush at Camp David. For the full text of the speech, visit our web site at www.usip.org/events.





Sudan's Endgame for Peace

After decades of broken ceasefires and unfulfilled promises, hopes for an end to Sudan's devastating civil war are currently high.

The Sudanese have long suffered from a deadly conflict spiraling around religion, oil, race, ethnicity, and ideology. Usually portrayed as a war between the Arab Muslim North and the Christian and animist South, the war has claimed millions of lives and created the largest population of internally displaced persons in the world.

According to **Francis Deng**, former Sudanese diplomat and current Institute senior fellow, the question of identity is the core issue of the civil war. Peace can only be built when the Sudanese capitalize on their common identity as Sudanese.

Deng and Institute board chair **Chester Crocker** lead the Institute's Sudan Peace Forum, which meets regularly for roundtable discussions that share information among government, diplomatic, academic, and non-governmental actors working toward peace and rehabilitation in Sudan. Among the visiting speakers have been **John Garang**, chairman and commander-in-chief of the Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), who visited Washington in May and spoke with forum members on the 30th.

The peace process under the aegis of the regional Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is bearing fruit with the renewed commitment of the United States and other members of the so-called "troika" of supporters (the United Kingdom and Norway), forum participants agreed. The results of this momentum include the Machakos Protocol signed in July 2002 and ongoing negotiations mediated by IGAD's special envoy, Lt. General Lazaro K. Sumbeiywo of Kenya.

Recently the official peace process was bolstered by an opposition agreement to call for a Sharia-free Khartoum. The SPLM/A, Democratic Unionist Party, and Umma Party signed the Cairo Declaration on May 24, 2003. Hassan al Turabi and his People's National Congress party signed onto the declaration on June 3.

Both sides—the government and the SPLM/A—are flexible to varying degrees, said forum participants. Both can see the general outline for an agreement and ulti-

mate resolution. However, the situation on the ground is still far from stable and outstanding issues such as the following must be addressed.

- Wealth-sharing, particularly of oil revenues, is a point of contention.

- Power-sharing issues, such as who fills the interim presidency, require clarification and agreement.

- Security during the interim period and beyond will require dealing with two armies, state security groups, militias, and international peacekeeping and ceasefire monitoring.

- The status of Khartoum in relation to law and religion is not yet agreed.

- The three areas of Abyei, the Southern Blue Nile, and the Nuba Mountains are geographically in the North but share many cultural traits—plus a common history of marginalization—with the South. Their status in the future is not yet determined.

- There must be a package of international guarantees, including aid, cooperation in counter-terrorism and humanitarian efforts, monitoring the ceasefire, and maintaining security on the ground. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund are planning to facilitate wealth-sharing on a technical level. The European Union and the Arab states will also be encouraged to support the peace in various ways.

The momentum for peace and the evidence of political will and commitment have raised hopes but, for peace to endure, these important issues must be addressed.



Peace Watch (ISSN 1080-9864) is published six times a year by the United States Institute of Peace, an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. The views expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute or its board of directors.

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Web Redesign Launched

Greatly expanded web site—www.usip.org—substantially increases reach of Institute programs.

The Institute is pleased to announce the launch of its redesigned web site—www.usip.org. The product of three years of research, consultation, and implementation, the new site provides a new and invigorated presence on the World Wide Web as part of the Institute's ongoing efforts to increase the reach of its programs to interested audiences around the globe.

"The Institute of Peace was one of the first federal institutions to embrace the Internet," noted Institute president **Richard Solomon**. "Our redesigned web site will ensure that we continue to apply cutting-edge technologies to conflict resolution and management."

The new site features improved navigation and graphic design, and expanded content across the site. The launch was spearheaded by web developer **Amy Bucci** and web editor **Burt Edwards**, with design supervision provided by production manager **Marie Marr-Jackson**, library support by computer systems librarian **Ellen Ensel**, and technical advice and support by the Institute's Information and Communications Technology team.

Improving navigation and

increasing content has been a gradual process over the past two years and has resulted in traffic almost doubling. The redesigned site has such new features as:

- A centralized resource page providing quick access to Institute reports and online materials such as the Institute Library's digital collections of peace agreements and truth commissions.

- Enhanced application forms for those looking for funding for research, education, training, and the dissemination of information on international peace and conflict resolution through the Institute's Grant and Fellowship Programs.

- Additional information on projects and activities of the Institute's Public Outreach, Professional Training, Rule of Law, and Education Programs in addition to work done in areas such as the Balkans and Muslim world.

- A closer look at some of the people—from policymakers and researchers to students and educators—that participate in Institute activities every year, including an expanded section on the Institute's National Peace Essay Contest and Peace Scholar and Senior Fellowship Programs.

- Enhanced online event resources for those unable to

attend in person, including event summaries and transcripts as well as special multimedia resources—including a reorganized index of archived audio and video.

- Expanded information about the Institute, its history, goals, and plans for the future. This includes a new section on the Institute's origins and permanent headquarters project as well as a redesigned digital version of this newsletter.

The new site is designed to build upon the Institute's previous success in utilizing the Internet and other new information technologies. We invite you to explore the new site and share your thoughts and comments with us. You can use the convenient feedback form located in the "Contact Us" section of the web site.

www
.usip.
org



Public security, transitional justice, the role of religious groups, and the UN's role in Iraq and elsewhere are just some of the issues being addressed by Institute experts.

IRAQ

moving forward

Panelists cautioned the American administration to be careful about creating high expectations and to work to maintain the focus of the American public on key issues. Jennings stressed that a long-term commitment will ensure that Iraq is successfully rehabilitated and U.S. security and foreign policy goals are met.

Justice for All

First Steps Forward

Soon after the war, the Institute convened a panel to discuss the immediate steps that needed to be taken in Iraq. The April 16 panel, moderated by **Daniel Serwer**, director of peace operations, featured Rule of Law adviser **Robert Perito** and senior fellows **Ray Jennings** and **Jonathan Tucker**. Training Program director **George Ward** spoke by phone from Kuwait.

The panel agreed that security is the first priority. Perito advocated speedy supplements to military police on the ground, immediate international contributions of trained constabulary forces, and a commission to assist with rebuilding the judicial system. Security is critical to meeting humanitarian needs. Insecurity and fuel shortages are among hindrances to delivering relief, Ward warned.

Searching for weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and containment of WMD know-how are also priorities. The search will be difficult, said Tucker, who advocated internationalizing the ongoing investigation to increase the credibility of any findings. He also called for the establishment of an international science and technology center in Baghdad to employ former Iraqi weapons scientists and help prevent "brain drain" of WMD expertise to proliferators and terrorists.

Under the auspices of the U.S. State Department-supported Future of Iraq Project, a working group on transitional justice has been consulting since July 2002 with the Iraqi Jurists' Association (IJA) on a range of topics pertaining to post-war justice in Iraq. Composed primarily of former Iraqi judges and lawyers, the working group consulted extensively with international experts, including Institute experts on transitional justice, to produce a 300-page blueprint for action. On May 21, the Institute hosted a briefing to explore the findings.

Neil Kritz, a member of the working group and director of the Institute's Rule of Law Program, moderated the panel, which included working group and IJA chair **Tariq Ali al-Saleh** and members **Reyahd Abdul Majeed al-Kabban**, **Abdul Mun'im al-Khatib**, and **Sermid D. al-Sarraf**.

Three major areas for transitional justice were described.

- Prosecution of former officials and crimes against humanity must be thorough and open.

- The legal code must be reviewed and reformed to serve the people rather than the regime.

- A two-pronged education effort is necessary. Legal professionals need re-training. Public education is vital for citizens to understand their rights and responsibilities.

Short-Term Steps Toward Long-Term Goals



George Ward, director of the Training Program, returned from Iraq in late May after four months coordinating humanitarian assistance for the Pentagon's Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance. In an op-ed in the *New York Times* on June 13 he outlined the tasks ahead (excerpted below):

Long-term goals in Iraq now are public security, a transition to a representative system of government, and the creation of a free-market economy. To achieve these goals, we need to take three short-term steps.

First, every Iraqi police station should receive a small group of trained international advisers, armed and with power of arrest.

Second, as soon as the oil industry begins turning a profit on exports, we should give every Iraqi family a monthly payment. This would instantly dispel the popular myth that the coalition's intent was to seize Iraq's oil assets.

Third, pending the organization of an interim Iraqi government, coalition planners should help start grassroots-level dialogues on shaping the country's future in each of Iraq's 18 provinces. No democratic Iraqi government, however well conceived, will long survive unless it maintains popular support.



that conclusions cannot yet be drawn about the level of support SCIRI or other Shiite Islamist groups have among ordinary Iraqis.

The Sunni are even less homogenous than the Shiites. They are ethnically divided among Arabs, Turkomen, and Kurds. Among Islamists, the Muslim Brotherhood has re-emerged, but its level of support and program are not yet clear.

Collaboration between Shiite and Sunni is uncertain. Islamist movements will generally not transcend ethnic and sectarian lines. As for a secular government, there is widespread misunderstanding of secularism as being anti-religious, rather than religiously neutral. Considering American interests in a secular and inclusive government, a special effort at education should be undertaken, said panelists.

The UN: Iraq and Beyond

In light of the UN Security Council's failure to reach consensus on how to deal with Saddam Hussein, there is considerable debate about what its role should be in future conflicts.

A May 14 panel on the UN's role in Iraq and elsewhere featured **Richard Williamson**, U.S. alternative representative to the United Nations, Special Political Affairs; **Edward Luck**, director of the Center on International Organization at Columbia University; and **David Scheffer**, senior vice president of the UN Association of the USA. The director of the Institute's Special Initiative on the Muslim World, **Richard Kauzlarich**, moderated the discussion.

Williamson noted that the process within the Security Council leading up to the war in Iraq demonstrated some of the "creaks and weaknesses of World War II institutions." The United States needs to engage the international community on ways to modernize these institutions.

Luck observed that the UN was "built on conflict, thrives on conflict," and has survived past crises. The real question, according to Luck, is what the UN's role will be in the future. He sees four underlying problems that cannot be solved by Security Council reform. They are problems that member states bring with them to the United Nations.

Opposite page: An Iraqi man moves a concrete block from a Baghdad roadway in late April.

Clockwise from top: Richard Williamson, Edward Luck, David Scheffer.

Religion and the New Regime

What role will religion play in a new Iraq? Can there be reconciliation between Sunni and Shiite Muslims? What political agendas do various religious groups harbor?

A May 21 panel moderated by Religion and Peacemaking Program director **David Smock** considered these questions. The panelists included author **Graham Fuller**, senior fellow **Faleh Abdul-Jabar**, Iraq Foundation executive director **Rend Rahim Francke**, and Congressional Research Service staffer **Kenneth Katzman**.

Although Shiites are the religious majority (some 60 percent), they are not a homogenous community. The Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) is the best organized and best funded group, with backing from Iran. Panelists cautioned



Report: Jennings Randolph Legacy

Young Militants and Peace

Lack of attention to young combatants in conflict situations ignores their number, importance, and ability to disrupt peace processes, says senior fellow **Marie Smyth**. In her April 24 project report at the Institute, she described her extensive field research among young militants, their parents, and political leaders in Northern Ireland, South Africa, and the Middle East. Smyth said understanding the nature of adolescence and power bestowed by militant activities is necessary to appreciate why young people play such a volatile role. Effective demobilization of young militants is necessary to stem violence after a settlement, Smyth concluded. “If we are to improve the long-term



viability of peace settlements, the role of young people must be at the heart of the delivery of the agreements.”

A New Constitutionalism

Vivien Hart reported on an emerging “participatory constitutionalism” on April 30. Hart examined the potential and problems of public participation in constitution making, as well as public ownership’s contribution to conflict transformation and sustainable democracy. She provided examples of extensive and vibrant public participation in the drafting of the newest South Africa constitution in contrast to examples of “cosmetic” participation, as in Zimbabwe. Participatory constitution making is gaining momentum. However, drafters must still find ways to clarify and implement the most effective processes. There is no going backward. “The call for participation will not go away,” concluded Hart.



Winning the Peace in Iraq

Winning a war—in Iraq or elsewhere—is followed by the responsibility for winning the peace, says senior fellow **Ray Jennings**. Lessons from past post-war experiences in Germany, Japan, and the on-going conflict in Afghanistan can be applied to post-war Iraq if the United States has the political will to make a long-term commitment. Jennings

presented his project report on May 22 at the Institute. He said that the United States has fundamentally re-shaped its military doctrine without similarly reforming its commitments and capacities to stabilize and transform post-conflict environments. Post-war Iraq finds the United States in an unfamiliar position—in an international fishbowl, an unstable region, and amid growing anti-Americanism. Nation-building experience and expertise are plentiful within the American military, he said, but it is less certain if the United States is willing to make the commitment to apply these lessons over the long term in Iraq.



Post-Conflict Courtroom Lessons

At the turn of the 21st century, the only international judges and prosecutors were part of international tribunals at The Hague and Arusha. This changed quickly. In February 2000, the United Nations Mission in Kosovo inserted international judges and prosecutors into the local criminal justice system. Senior fellow **Michael Hartmann** presented several lessons from his experience as an international prosecutor in Kosovo during his project report on May 29 at



Iraq

Continued from page 7

Member states are increasingly uncomfortable with tools of coercion, and particularly the use of force.

Member states are ambivalent about the asymmetry of power in the post-Cold War world.

There is a divergence of opinion about whether the Security Council should function as a collective security organization, or simply endorse the use of force by others as appropriate.

There are also differences on how legitimacy is defined and measured.

Scheffer concluded the session by recommending that the United Nations establish the proper authority for the continued military presence of the United States, United Kingdom, and others through new Security Council resolutions that would provide more flexibility in rebuilding Iraq.



Jennings Randolph's Legacy

the Institute. The main lesson, said Hartmann, is that international participation should have been robust and immediate, rather than incremental and crisis-driven. This would have inhibited the growth of criminal power structures. Hartmann advised that future missions should base initial deployment and international intervention upon a worst-case scenario of public security disorder and the inability of local jurists to be impartial because of threats and coercion.

Indian Lessons in Internal Conflicts

A state's ability to identify and assess situations of potential instability are critical, according to senior fellow **Dipankar Banerjee**, who presented his project



report at the Institute on June 5. Banerjee drew lessons from three cases of India's use of its military in internal con-

licts: containing a separatist conflict in Nagaland, countering terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, and peacekeeping in Sri Lanka. States must identify potential instability, assess their options and possible outcomes, and take appropriate levels of action. The primary goal must be to ensure that people are convinced to accept a course of action that is in their long-term best interests. Authorities, meanwhile, must be prepared to accept and adjust their own objectives based on feedback from the people.

This excerpt is from the commencement speech by Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program director Joseph Klaitz at Sen. Jennings Randolph's alma mater, Salem International University, in Salem, West Virginia, May 4, 2003.

Throughout his long life—he died five years ago at age 96—Jennings Randolph had enormous confidence in young people. His greatest achievement was his principal sponsorship of the 26th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving the vote to 18-year-olds.

The formative event in Sen. Randolph's youth was World War I, with its unimaginable carnage and destruction of an entire generation of young men. Jennings Randolph was 16 when that war ended, and it had a profound impact on him. The franchise, he thought, would empower youth against old political leaders, who might send the young off to war against their will.

But young people need to be educated and properly guided in alternatives to war. So beginning in the 1940s, Jennings Randolph introduced legislation to create a federal academy of peace, analogous to the military academies, to promote research and teaching about conflict resolution by means other than war, and to instruct young people about the arts of peace. His efforts eventually resulted in the creation in 1984 of the United States Institute of Peace, a federal organization supported by congressional appropriations.

Each year, every man, woman, and child in this country contributes five cents of tax money to support the Institute's efforts at international conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. And I can assure you that you get a lot for your nickel. Of course a nickel isn't much when compared to the more than \$2,000 on average that each citizen contributes in taxes toward the Pentagon's current annual budget.

Senator Randolph knew that among its other problems, war is very expensive, and that peace is cheap. Of course we all know that sometimes the cheaper item is not a bargain. We need a large military for our security. But if we can achieve that security at reduced costs, that would be better all around.

In the end, world stability is the best guarantee of American security. Our power is based not only on our military strength but also on America's support of the principles of democracy and human rights and the quest for peace. We should never forget our core values of tolerance and equality before the law, because in these values lies our true strength against those who hate our freedom. This was the faith of Jennings Randolph when he invested his confidence in the young.



Joseph Klaitz



Grantee Nets a Gunrunner

Intrepid investigative reporting led to the arrest and extradition of an international arms dealer.

A documentary program supported by the Institute led to the arrest of an international arms dealer last fall.

The Center for Investigative Reporting (CIR), with the support of an Institute grant, produced the documentary “Gunrunners,” a *Frontline/World* program aired on public television in May 2002. The program, and its companion web site, ultimately resulted in the arrest and extradition of Jean Bernard Lasnaud. Lasnaud had been living in Florida. Spooked by the interest of CIR reporters in his business dealings—much of which

was Internet-based—he fled to Switzerland. He was arrested in Switzerland only a few days after the program aired on PBS and the story about Lasnaud broke on-line. He was extradited to Argentina in September 2002 to face charges there.

CIR has been reporting on the illegal gun trade since the development of its 1997 program “Hot Guns,” a *Frontline* co-production on the U.S. domestic black market. In the case of small arms, CIR has monitored a booming international black market trade that fuels conflict around the world—in countries such as Sierra Leone and Liberia. The trade has led to an estimated 4 million deaths since the end of the Cold War, accord-

ing to CIR.

“Gunrunners” won an Investigative Reporters and Editors Award in the online category.

Danger in the Caucasus

The unresolved conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the secessionist province of Nagorny Karabakh could erupt yet again, destabilizing the entire southern Caucasus region of the former Soviet Union.

“It was a very bad war, it is an even worse peace,” said Thomas de Waal, independent journalist and Caucasus editor for the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, who spoke at the Institute on April 16. His new book, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War* (New York: NYU Press, 2003) was largely supported by an Institute grant.

A cease-fire in the war for independence by the overwhelmingly ethnic Armenian province in Azerbaijan’s western region has given the region a modicum of stability since 1994. But the doomsday scenario that permeates discussion of the conflict is that of a “proxy war” between Turkey (supporting Azerbaijan) and Russia (supporting Armenia). “These are two small countries,” said de Waal. “Each believes they are the victimized and endangered party while the other is backed by a large power.”

In conclusion, de Waal said that the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is a 20th century problem, not a matter of inherent, ancient hatreds. The conflict is being perpetuated by politically motivated “hate narratives” that are domestically convenient for both sides. But actually, says de Waal, “there is a long history of trading, intermarriage, and shared culture. And informal cooperation continues to this day.” With the proper support, that cooperation could form the basis for a negotiated settlement.

The Military and the Making of Foreign Policy

How are the makers of foreign policy and the military facing the new challenges of the 21st century? This question was addressed by an April 23 panel, chaired by Ambassador **Samuel Lewis** and featuring former guest scholar **Dana Priest** of the *Washington Post*, former fellow **Yoram Peri** of Tel Aviv University, and **Charles Moskos** of Northwestern University. Moskos noted that the American military has long been torn about the appropriateness of participation in peacekeeping and peacebuilding. However, arguments that peacekeeping undermines the “warrior ethic” are disproved by recent research. Moskos has found that troops working more closely with local communities in the Balkans had a higher level of morale than those performing more traditional military tasks at Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo. Specialized tracking among long-term and short-term recruits, recommends Moskos, will help maintain a

war-ready military that can also perform in peacekeeping and peacebuilding situations.

Priest cautioned that the military alone cannot rebuild nations, as in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, she continued, if the State Department and other U.S. agencies are to play a more active role in peacebuilding and other activities they must have the support of both Congress and the administration. This support has eroded over the past several years.

Peri provided a different angle by describing the Israeli politico-military situation. While the Israeli military is more involved in policymaking than the U.S. military, there is still a solid civil-military balance, according to Peri. He cited a diversity of opinion within the military and the forming of various civil-military coalitions based on common positions over the years. Peri concluded that the blurring of politics, military affairs, and policymaking seen in Israel may become more common in other nations in response to complex security challenges since September 2001.



Top: Charles Moskos,

Dana Priest.

Bottom: Yoram Peri,

Samuel

Lewis.



InstitutePeople

Fellows program officer **JOHN CRIST** visited New Delhi in May to meet with individuals interested in the fellows program and with representatives from India's top foreign policy think tanks, including the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis, Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, and Centre for Policy Research.

TIM DOCKING, Research and Studies program officer, made a presentation on the Horn of Africa at "Terrorism's New Front Lines: Adapting U.S. Counter-Terrorism Strategy to Regions of Concern," an Institute conference organized with the Institute for National Strategic Studies at National Defense University on May 8–9. He participated in a workshop on AIDS in Africa sponsored by the Program on African Studies at Northwestern University on June 10.

Research and Studies Program officer **BILL DRENNAN** made a presentation on "U.S.-ROK Approaches to North Korea" at a conference in Albuquerque hosted by the Sandia National Laboratories in April. In late May he spoke at the Asia Society in New York City as part of a program on "Pre-emptive Foreign Policy: Implications/Applications for Asia's Hot Spots," and at Northwestern University on "Asymmetric Warfare and the Korean Peninsula." Drennan was interviewed on developments in Korea by *Newsweek*, the British Broadcasting Corporation, Korea Broadcasting Service, Channel News Asia, and KVRX (Austin).

TED FEIFER and **ANNE HENDERSON** of the Training Program con-

ducted a workshop on "Advanced Negotiating Skills for Multilateral Diplomacy" for officials of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Secretariat and delegations to the OSCE in Vienna, May 21–23. They also led two seminars in negotiation and diplomatic skills for staff of the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, Macedonia, the last week of May.

Executive vice president **HARRIET HENTGES** gave the commencement address at the College of St. Catherine (Minn.), the nation's second largest women's college, on May 18. Her topic was "The Changing Face of Peacemaking."

Fellowship Program director **JOSEPH KLAITS** delivered the May 4 commencement address at Salem International University (W. Va.), the alma mater of Sen. Jennings Randolph, who sponsored the legislation establishing the Institute. Randolph also served on Salem's board of trustees for many years.

Program officer **DEEPA OLLAPALLY'S** article, "South Asia's Politics of Paranoia," was published in *The World & I* in May.

On April 10, **DANIEL SERWER**, director of the Balkans Initiative, testified before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on International Relations' Subcommittee on Europe about U.S. involvement in the Balkans over the last decade. He again testified before the House Committee on International Relations on May 21 at a hearing on the future of Kosovo.

Grant program officer **TAYLOR SEYBOLT** gave a talk, "Humanitari-

Korea

Continued from page 2

Further cause for celebration includes several great achievements: deterrence of North Korean aggression, the change in the ROK from authoritarian to democratic governance, and the transformation of the ROK into one of the world's leading trading economies.

At the same time, there are fault lines in the alliance. Perceptions matter. Education and dialogue are necessary to close the gaps in perception about the American role on the peninsula, the future of the alliance, and the threat of North Korean nuclear capacity.

In sum, a combined sense of achievement and concern permeated the conference. **Paul Stares**, Research and Studies director, closed the conference by remarking that the mature way to face the milestone of 50—personally or politically—is by "reflecting on what is good and what needs to be changed. And with a renewed sense of respect for friends and partners and a commitment to fulfilling shared obligations and responsibilities."

an Military Intervention and the Quest for Legitimacy," at a May 9–10 workshop on "International Intervention and State Sovereignty" at the Austrian Institute for International Affairs in Vienna.

Senior fellow **MARIE SMYTH** coordinated a workshop at the Bobst Center for Peace and Justice at Princeton University in May on militarized youth in the Middle East, South Africa, and Northern Ireland. She also delivered the opening address.

Col. **GARLAND WILLIAMS**, senior fellow, participated in an hour-long radio interview on National Public Radio's *The Connection* around issues of post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq. Williams also spoke on post-conflict reconstruction to the Society of American Military Engineers in Washington on May 27.

Recent Publications

The following Institute publications are available free of charge. They can be downloaded from our web site at www.usip.org/pubs. Print copies can be ordered online or you can call 202-429-3832, fax 202-429-6063, or write the Institute's Office of Public Outreach.

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Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific

Yoichi Funabashi, editor

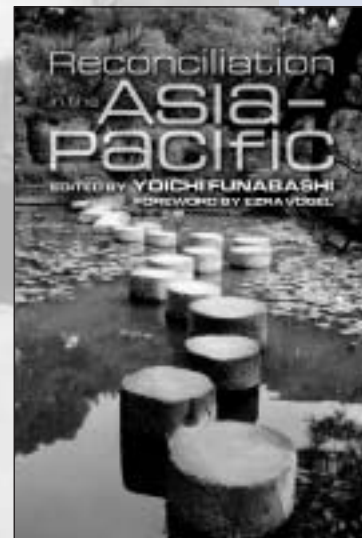
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July 2003 • 264 pp. • 6 x 9
\$19.95 (paper) • 1-929223-47-1



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